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DATE: 20 May 1963

Central Propaganda Directive
Briefly Noted

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Propagandist's Guide to Communist Dissensions
#3, 30 April-13 May 1963 unclassified
Chronology, in French and English

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Attachment:

25X16 Italian Party Applies Creative Marxism

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DATES [REDACTED]

23 June Argentina: general elections scheduled

24 June WIDE's Fifth Congress, Moscow 24-29 June 1963

25 June North Korea broadcasts declaration of war; forces invade Republic of South Korea - (1950)

26 June Allied airlift to Berlin begins successful answer to Soviet blockade - fifteenth anniversary (1948)

28 June Poznan, Poland: revolt against Communist rule; 44 killed and hundreds wounded (1956)

28 June Cominform expels Yugoslav Party - fifteenth anniversary (1948)

1 July Chinese Communist Party founded (1921)

4 July Republic of the Philippines granted independence by the USA (1946)

9 July ICFTU Vienna World Youth Rally July 9-19

13 July Pope Pius XII decreed excommunication of all Roman Catholics who persistently follow Communist doctrines; also denied sacrament to Catholics who read Communist writings.

20 July Indo-China war concluded with Geneva Agreement 1954 (Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam)

22 July OAS Panama Declaration of political and economic philosophy 1956. (July 13, 1888 US invited first International Conference of American States to Washington 1889, the first step toward creating the Pan American Union)

31 July Malaya announced end of 12-year emergency, i.e. fighting Communist guerrillas, 1960

August Brazilian municipal elections in Pernambuco state scheduled for early August. Pro-Communist Governor Miguel Arraes.

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CHRONOLOGY -- COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS

#3

30 April-13 May 1963

April - No. 6 of Kommunist, Russian-language theoretical journal of the CPSU Central Committee, published another "new document" of Lenin interpreted as supporting the Khrushchev peaceful coexistence line. (In September 1962 a "previously unknown Lenin document" emphasizing the precedence of economics over politics was published, after a Soviet scholar reportedly had succeeded in deciphering some old notes.) This 6-page document, entitled "A Concluding Word about the Report on Concessions at the Fraction RCP (Bolshevik) VIII Congress of Soviets," is accompanied by a page of footnotes and introduced by a one-page editorial comment signed by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU.

The new document is in the form of a dialogue: Lenin cites and replies to a series of questions and reservations expressed by Party rank-and-file regarding his proposals for granting concessions to foreign capitalists to speed industrial and economic development in Russia. A surprised reader sees Lenin strongly defending concessions for exploitation of native resources by foreign capital, concessions of a type which are now generally condemned by all leftists as "economic imperialism." One question reads: "What is included in the provisional draft agreement with American imperialists on the subject of concessions on Kamchatka?" Lenin replies: "I said that the length of term of the concession is 50-60 years. We receive a share of the production; they receive the right to install a military and naval base in that inlet, not far from the source of the oil."

At the end of its introductory comment, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism sums up its view of the significance of this document as follows:

"Although concessions did not come into existence in Soviet Russia, Lenin's works on the problems of concessions retain immense theoretical and political significance, inasmuch as the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with opposite social structures found their expression here."

April - The New Zealand monthly Communist Review carries the text of General Secretary Wilcox's report to the National Conference of the CPNZ on April 12 (see Chronology, mid-April). Wilcox acknowledged that the Moscow-Peking split has diverted Party members' efforts, retarded progress, and "has affected our Party at all levels and has been an acute one at National Center level."

April 20-21 - The leaders of the tiny Norwegian CP (which pulls no more than 2-3% of the vote), at a conference in Oslo, apparently ended a period of hesitation about taking sides between the Soviets and the Chinese by coming down decisively on the Soviet side. The Party leadership consists of old-line Stalinists, and Chairman
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just

before Christmas 1962. In January the Party issued a "neutral" declaration urging both the CPSU and the CCP to resolve their differences within the family circle. However, according to the Labor Party organ Arbeiderbladet of 23 April, this conference voted to accept a new Party program which reflects complete acceptance of the Khrushchev "peaceful coexistence" line, drops the notion of "the dictatorship of the proletariat," and reaches out in the "peaceful transition to socialism" direction.

May 1 - May Day was observed with marked differences in the rival centers of world communism. Events in Moscow were dominated by the unheralded and precipitous arrival of Fidel Castro for a visit which has been used in an effort to repair the damage of the USSR's "capitulation" in the Caribbean, to restore an image of Khrushchev as the revolutionary's best friend, and to emphasize fraternal fellowship in the world Communist movement, -- but which has had little notice in Peking. The Chinese again paid tribute to Stalin with large pictures, omitted mention of any Russians among the guests at Chou En-lai's reception, reaffirmed their "militant friendship" with Albania; -- and, in what seemed to be further effort to promote disunity in Moscow's camp (on 28 April People's Daily belatedly published the Communiqué of the 5-8 March Plenum of the Rumanian CP -- see our Chronology, 8-15 April), the Chinese departed from their practice of exchanging trade union delegations with all European satellites by failing to send one to Czechoslovakia, presumably to retaliate for recent Czech attacks on the CCP. Among May Day statements by other Parties, Rumania's seemed significant in view of its stress on "full equality" and "national Sovereignty."

May 1-2 - Conflict was expressed in treatment of the Italian CP election success by the various Party organs. L'Unita on 1 May quotes Togliatti as stating that the success "completely destroyed the slanderous and ridiculous statements about a crisis in the Italian CP and its decline and isolation from the masses" (the Chinese appraisal). The Soviets publicized this in a Pravda article on May 2 and broadcast it in Mandarin, and the Yugoslavs reported that "Moscow has expressed its particular satisfaction." Chinese reportage of the Italian elections, on the other hand, suppressed even the fact that the CP had increased its vote percentage.

May 1 and continuing - CCP Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Foreign Minister Chen Yi, after a brief return to China following their visits to Indonesia and Burma, arrived in Phnom Penh for a visit to Cambodia, followed by North Vietnam. The Chinese visitors apparently behaved circumspectly in Cambodia, but, according to a May 12 AP report of a Chinese broadcast heard in Tokyo, Liu expounded Peking's hardest line in a speech to a crowd of 200,000 in Hanoi.

May 2 - A Washington Post article by Murray Marder reported that Under Secretary of State Harriman returned from his Moscow talks with the impression that the Kremlin is obsessed with its rivalry with the Chinese. In a CBS television interview with Marvin Kalb, Harriman stated: "But my feeling in Moscow was that the great pre-occupation of Mr. Khrushchev and his associates was over the conflict they have with the Chinese Communists. The Communist Party

in Moscow is having an agonizing reappraisal of where they are going and they are quite disturbed by the attitude of the Peking Communists."

May 5 - According to a report by Lajos Lederer in the London Observer, Hungarian authorities are angry at the activities of the Chinese Embassy in distributing polemical pamphlets to key Hungarian CP organizations and at the 40 Chinese students who, among other propaganda actions, last week broke up a seminar of 700 students of all nationalities with their accusations against Khrushchev for splitting the world Communist movement.

May 5 - Marking the 145th anniversary of Marx's birth, the Albanians again attacked "The enemies of Marxism clad in Marxist dress, who try to subject the vital interests of the working movement to the bourgeoisie, to weaken the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and steer this struggle along an erroneous path,....the various opportunists and revisionists."

May 9 - NCNA announced that CCP Vice Chairman Chou En-lai received Soviet Ambassador Chervonenko and asked him to transmit the decision of the CCP to appoint Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Chen to head a delegation to Moscow for talks between the two parties. The CCP proposed mid-June for the date. NCNA added that Chou had said that a reply to the 30 March CPSU letter would be sent later. People's Daily published the text of that letter without comment on 4 April, and there has been no further comment on it by the Chinese. It may be speculated that the Chinese are preparing a hard-hitting rebuttal which they will release too late for the Soviets to prepare an effective reply before the date of the meeting.

May 9 - 10 - On the same day as the Chinese announced their readiness to meet with the CPSU in bilateral Party talks, NCNA reported with restrained derision the adoption by the Yugoslavs on 7 April -- more than a month earlier -- of their new constitution. On the following day, the People's Daily commentator savagely attacked the constitution, which "once again proves that the Tito group, renegades of Marxism-Leninism, far from rectifying its mistakes, has gone further down the road of betrayal." Striking obliquely at the CPSU, the commentator says further that it "proves that those who consider that the Tito group has shown some repentance and changed its wrong policy are talking sheer nonsense."

REFERENCES

"The Split between Russia and China," by Edward Crankshaw. Atlantic May 1963; Vol. 211, No. 5. Crankshaw has painstakingly assembled and analyzed all of the inside information about what went on at the 22nd CPSU Congress as it has been revealed in recent months by Italian, French and other unnamed delegates; the only place in which we have seen this information so well -- and briefly -- presented. The author carries on through the highlights of the subsequent year and a half to bring us up to date.

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"Red Solidarity a Mockery," by Max Frankel in the New York Times, 2 May 1963. Tied to May Day, this is a good round-up of the many aspects and evidences of conflict and confusion in the Communist world.

"Peking Far Ahead in Asia Influence Race With Moscow," by Dennis Bloodworth, Singapore, in the London Observer, 5 May, and the Washington Post, 8 May 1963. A round-up of the results of the Sino-Soviet rivalry in Asia, pegged to the Afro-Asian Journalists Conference in Djakarta.

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No. 3

30 avril - 13 mai 1963

Avril - Le No. 6 de "Kommunist", la revue théorique en langue russe du comité central du P.C.U.S., a publié un autre "nouveau document" de Lénine interprété comme appuyant la doctrine de coexistence pacifique de Khrouchtchev. (En sept. 1962 un "document de Lénine jusqu'ici inconnu", soulignant l'importance des questions économiques, a été publié après qu'un érudit soviétique ait paraît-il réussi à déchiffrer de vieilles notes.) Ce document de six pages, intitulé "Un mot final au sujet du rapport sur les concessions faites à la fraction du P.C.R. (Bolchevik) du VIII^e Congrès des Soviets", est accompagné d'une page de notes et introduit par un commentaire éditorial d'une page signé par l'Institut du Marxisme-Léninisme du C.C. du P.C.U.S.

Le nouveau document est sous forme d'un dialogue: Lénine répond à une série de questions et d'objections présentées par des membres du parti au sujet des propositions qu'il avait faites d'accorder des concessions à des capitalistes étrangers pour accélérer le développement industriel et économique en Russie. A sa grande surprise, le lecteur voit que Lénine prend vivement la défense des concessions pour l'exploitation des ressources indigènes par le capital étranger, concessions d'un genre qui est maintenant généralement condamné par tous les gauchistes comme étant de "l'impérialisme économique". Une des questions dit: "Quels sont les termes du projet d'accord provisoire avec les impérialistes américains au sujet des concessions au Kamtchatka?" Lénine répond: "J'ai dit que la durée de la concession est de 50-60 ans. Nous recevons une part dans la production; ils reçoivent le droit d'installer une base militaire et navale dans cette anse, non loin du gisement de pétrole."

A la fin de son commentaire d'introduction, l'Institut du Marxisme-Léninisme résume comme suit son opinion sur l'importance du document:

"Bien qu'il n'y ait pas eu de concessions en Russie Soviétique, les travaux de Lénine sur les problèmes concernant les concessions conservent une importance théorique et politique énorme, étant donné que les principes qui régissent la coexistence pacifique des Etats ayant des structures sociales opposées ont trouvé là leur expression."

Avril - "Communist Review" qui est l'organe mensuel du parti communiste de la Nouvelle-Zélande publie le texte du rapport de Wilcox, secrétaire général du parti, à la conférence nationale du P.C.N.Z. le 12 avril (voir Chronologie, milieu avril). Wilcox a reconnu que la scission entre Moscou et Pékin a détourné les efforts des membres du parti, retardé les progrès, "affectant notre parti à tous les niveaux, se faisant particulièrement sentir au niveau du Centre National."

20-21 avril - Les chefs du petit P.C. norvégien (qui ne remporte que 2-3 pour cent des votes) semble avoir mis fin, lors d'une conférence à Oslo, à une période de vacillation et d'indécision en se rangeant de façon décisive du côté des Soviets. Les chefs du parti se composent de stalinistes à l'ancienne mode, et le président Loevlien, qui est paraît-il un grand admirateur de Mao, s'est rendu en Chine juste avant Noël 1962. En janvier, le parti publiait une déclaration "neutre" incitant le P.C.U.S. et le P.C.C. à résoudre leurs différences dans le cercle de famille. Cependant, d'après l'organe du parti travailliste "Arbeiderbladet" en date du 23 avril, cette conférence aurait voté d'accepter un nouveau programme du parti reflétant l'acceptation complète de la doctrine de "coexistence pacifique" de Khrouchtchev, laissant tomber le principe de "la dictature du prolétariat" et prenant le chemin de la "transition pacifique au socialisme."

1er mai - Le premier mai a été célébré de façon très discrète dans les centres rivaux du communisme mondial. Les événements à Moscou ont été dominés par l'arrivée soudaine de Fidel Castro dont la visite n'avait pas été annoncée et était évidemment un effort pour réparer les dégâts faits par la "capitulation" de l'U.R.S.S. dans les Antilles, pour remettre Khrouchtchev à sa place de meilleur ami du révolutionnaire, et pour souligner la fraternité du mouvement communiste mondial. Cette visite est passée pour ainsi dire inaperçue à Pékin. Une fois de plus les Chinois ont rendu hommage à Staline en déployant de grands portraits, n'ont fait mention d'aucun Russe parmi les invités à la réception de Chou En-lai, ont affirmé de nouveau leur "amitié militante" avec l'Albanie, -- et, donnant l'impression de faire un effort spécial pour favoriser la discorde dans le camp de Moscou (le 28 avril, le "Quotidien du Peuple" a finalement publié le communiqué de la réunion plénière du P.C. roumain qui avait eu lieu du 5 au 8 mars -- voir notre Chronologie, 8-15 avril) les Chinois se sont écartés de leur habitude d'échanger des délégations syndicales avec tous les satellites européens et se sont gardés d'en envoyer une en Tchécoslovaquie, probablement comme représailles pour les récentes attaques tchécoslovaques contre le P.C.C. Parmi les déclarations faites à l'occasion du 1er mai par d'autres partis, celles de la Roumanie semblent d'une importance particulière du fait de leur insistance sur "l'égalité complète" et sur la "souveraineté nationale".

1-2 mai - Le conflit s'est trouvé exprimé par la façon dont le succès du P.C. italien a été traité dans les divers organes du parti. "L'Unità" du 1er mai a cité Togliatti comme ayant dit que le succès avait "complètement détruit les propos diffamatoires et ridicules au sujet d'une crise dans le P.C. italien, de son déclin et de son isolement des masses" (ce qui représente l'évaluation chinoise). Les Soviétiques se sont empressés de faire connaître ceci dans un article de "Pravda" en date du 2 mai, et l'ont diffusé à la radio en mandarin. Les Yougoslaves ont rapporté que "Moscou avait exprimé une satisfaction marquée." D'un autre côté, les Chinois en rapportant les élections italiennes se sont même gardés de dire que le P.C. avait remporté un plus grand pourcentage de voix.

1er mai et jours suivants - Le président du P.C.C. Liu Chao-chi et le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères Chen Yi, après être retournés brièvement en Chine à la suite de leur visite en Indonésie et en Birmanie, sont arrivés à Phnom Penh pour une visite au Cambodge et ensuite au Nord Viet-nam. Il semble que les visiteurs chinois se soient conduits avec prudence au Cambodge, mais aux dires d'un rapport de l'Associated Press du 12 mai parlant d'une émission chinoise entendue à Tokyo, Liu aurait exposé la doctrine la plus intransigente de Pékin dans un discours adressé à une foule de 200.000 personnes à Hanoi.

2 mai - Un article de Murray Marder dans le "Washington Post" disait que le sous-secrétaire d'Etat Harriman est revenu de ses entretiens de Moscou avec l'impression que le Kremlin est obsédé par sa rivalité avec les Chinois. Lors d'une entrevue avec Marvin Kalb télévisée par CBS, Harriman a dit: "Mais j'ai eu l'impression à Moscou que la grande préoccupation de M. Khrouchtchev et de ses associés était le conflit qu'ils ont avec les communistes chinois . . . Le parti communiste à Moscou est en train de se demander avec angoisse où il va, et il est très inquiet de l'attitude des communistes chinois."

5 mai - Aux dires d'un rapport par Lajos Lederer dans l'"Observer" de Londres, les autorités hongroises sont irritées des activités de l'ambassade chinoise qui distribue des pamphlets de polémique aux principales organisations du P.C. hongrois, et des 40 étudiants chinois qui, entre autres actions de propagande, ont rompu un cycle d'étude de 700 étudiants de toutes nationalités en accusant Khrouchtchev de chercher à diviser le mouvement communiste mondial.

5 mai - Célébrant le 145e anniversaire de la naissance de Marx, les Albanais ont encore une fois attiré l'attention des médias en déclarant qu'ils essaient

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d'affaiblir la lutte révolutionnaire des peuples, et de la lancer dans le mauvais chemin, . . . les divers opportunistes et révisionnistes."

9 mai - L'Agence d'Informations de la Nouvelle Chine a annoncé que le vice-président du P.C.C. Chou En-lai a reçu l'ambassadeur soviétique Tchervonenko et lui a demandé de transmettre la décision du P.C.C. de nommer les camarades Teng Hsiao-ping et Peng Tchen à la tête d'une délégation qui doit se rendre à Moscou pour des entretiens entre les deux partis. Le P.C.C. a proposé la mi-juin comme date. L'Agence d'informations de la N.C. a ajouté que Chou avait dit qu'une réponse à la lettre du P.C.U.S. en date du 30 mars serait envoyée plus tard. Le "Quotidien du Peuple" a publié le texte de cette lettre sans commentaire le 4 avril, et depuis les Chinois n'ont rien dit d'autre à ce sujet. On suppose que les Chinois préparent une réfutation dure qu'ils publieront trop tard pour que les Soviets puissent préparer une réponse efficace avant la date de la réunion.

9-10 mai - Le jour même où les Chinois annonçaient qu'ils étaient prêts à avoir des entretiens bilatéraux avec le P.C.U.S., l'Agence d'Informations de la Nouvelle Chine rapportait avec une ironie contenue que les Yougoslaves avaient adopté le 7 avril -- plus d'un mois auparavant -- leur nouvelle constitution. Le lendemain, le commentateur du "Quotidien du Peuple" attaquait férocelement la constitution qui "prouve une fois de plus que le groupe de Tito, renégat du marxisme-léninisme, loin de rectifier ses erreurs, s'est avancé encore davantage dans le chemin de la trahison." Lançant un coup de patte de côté au P.C.U.S., le commentateur disait aussi: "ceci prouve que ceux qui considèrent que le groupe de Tito a manifesté un certain repentir et a renoncé à sa politique erronée ne disent que des sottises."

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20 May 1963

659. Race Motive in Chinese Foreign Policy

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BACKGROUND: In her bid to replace the West (including the USSR) as the predominant influence in the developing world, China is emphasizing not only economic inequalities (developed vs. undeveloped) but also geographic and ethnic disparities. Thus, representatives of the "Central Kingdom" are circumspectly promoting the idea that, as a non-white race, the Chinese are in a position to identify themselves with the aspirations of the colored majority of mankind. This appeal, aimed at a major chink in Western armor, is calculated on the one hand to touch the still tender strings of emotional anti-colonialism, and on the other to arouse feelings of sympathetic identification with the defenders of the underdeveloped, the anti-Western and the non-white.

At the Moshi Conference (Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, AAPSO), held in Tanganyika from 4-10 February, where the Chinese made a major -- and largely successful -- effort to dominate the proceedings, one of the delegates from Peking, Liu Ning-i, who is also a member of the Politburo of the Chinese CP, lumped the Soviet Union with the West when, in addressing the conference, he complained of the high-handed behavior of the "big powers" in Asia and Africa:

"The attempt to decide major problems of the world and to manipulate the destiny of mankind by one or two big countries runs counter to the trend of our times and is against the interests of the peoples....The countries of Asia and Africa, as well as all people throughout the world, are firmly opposed to the big powers' bullying, oppressing and giving orders to smaller countries."

And, in an effort, apparently, to counter the apprehensions of the Southeast Asian countries, the joint CPR/Kingdom of Cambodia statement on the occasion of Liu Shao-chi's visit to Cambodia, (April 1963) states:

"The two parties hold that in international relations the principle of the equality of all countries must be strictly observed. Cambodia praises China for being free from chauvinism and racism."

Outside the formal meetings, Chinese efforts to gain the support of the "have nots" are considerably more blatant. At Moshi, for example, the Chinese are reliably reported to have carried their efforts at sympathetic identification to the lengths of including in their delegation "special secretaries" who were readily available for evening overtime with influential African representatives.

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20 May 1963

That the Soviet comrades are well aware of Peking's efforts to replace them in the developing areas can be amply documented. For example, the 23 March issue of Pravda carried an article by two Soviet representatives to the Moshi Conference, M. Turzun-Zade, Chief of the Soviet Delegation, and L. Maksudov, representing the AAPSO Soviet Committee, entitled "Strengthen Unity in the Struggle for National Independence and Peace" which attacks the Chinese for their attempt to split AAPSO along racial lines.

"The important result of the Moshi Conference was the decisive resistance to all attempts to set the movement for Afro-Asian solidarity against other democratic movements and forces. The workers of all races and of every color are deeply interested in liquidation of the contemptible colonial exploitation in as much as a people which enslaves other people cannot be free. Attempts to limit the movement of solidarity -- within a continental framework, to isolate it from the progressive forces of the rest of the world, can only weaken the national liberation struggle."

In their 30 March letter to the Chinese, the Soviets warned the former that

"Ideological and tactical differences must under no circumstances be used to form nationalist feelings and prejudices...the militant call: 'Proletarians of the World, Unite!...' means that at the basis of such union lies class anti-imperialist solidarity, and not nationality, the color of the skin, or geography. Cohesion of the masses for the struggle against imperialism based only on the principle of identity with this or that continent, be it Africa, Asia, Latin America or Europe, might do harm to the struggling peoples. This would not be union...but a splitting of the single anti-imperialist front."

Most explicit of all, perhaps, was the statement of A.M. Rumyantsev to an international seminar on The Socialist World System and the National-Liberation Movement held in Prague in December 1962 as reported in the World Marxist Review of March 1963. Rumyantsev, Chief Editor of the World Marxist Review, stated inter alia:

"It is said sometimes that one of the basic contradictions of our time is that between the developed and underdeveloped countries. Is this view correct? In analysing social problems Marxists take as their starting point the class contradictions. In the socialist camp, too, there are countries at differing levels of development. But there are no contradictions between them. This is not the case in the capitalist world where the contradictions between the relatively more developed countries and relatively

less developed countries are often very acute. And this is so not because the level of production in some countries is lower than in others, but because the underdeveloped countries are exploited by the developed imperialist powers. Equally, we cannot accept the views of those who invoke Kipling's "East and West will never meet," that is, who reduce everything to geographic or ethnographic /i.e. race/ differences. The real contradictions are not between East and West, but between classes, and above all there is the basic contradiction, from which all others flow -- the contradiction between socialism and capitalism."

Such manifestations of Sino-Soviet rivalry in the developing areas and in international front organizations are becoming common.

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660. Communist China's Domestic Failures

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BACKGROUND: The Chinese Communist authorities have started another campaign to indoctrinate the Chinese peasants in the "superiority of the collective system." The earlier symbols of this vaunted system were the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes. The avowed purpose of the communes was to consolidate the central leadership control over local economic activity, to control economic consumption in the countryside, to eliminate vestiges of private enterprise, and to destroy traditional family life, replacing it with a communal system of living. Within this system the Chicomps sought to build a people's militia, using the patriotic appeal of every-peasant-a-soldier to meet its military needs while driving an exhausted people to ever greater efforts on the land. In an attempt to round out this new philosophy of a communal-way-of-life, and making up to some degree for the cut-back in industry necessitated by the food needs of the population, the experiment in backyard furnaces was also launched, -- with the resulting poor quality of iron which might have been predicted. The initiation of the communes, ill-conceived, alien and mismanaged, as well as affected by a period of adverse weather conditions, brought on poor harvests and inflicted upon the Chinese people near-starvation conditions which were remarkable even for a people whose history has associated them so closely with hunger. The disasters of the 1958-1961 plans for the Great Leap Forward forced the Red regime to back away from the extreme program which had plunged the countryside into misery, even though the basic idea of the communes was never repudiated and is still believed in by the authorities.

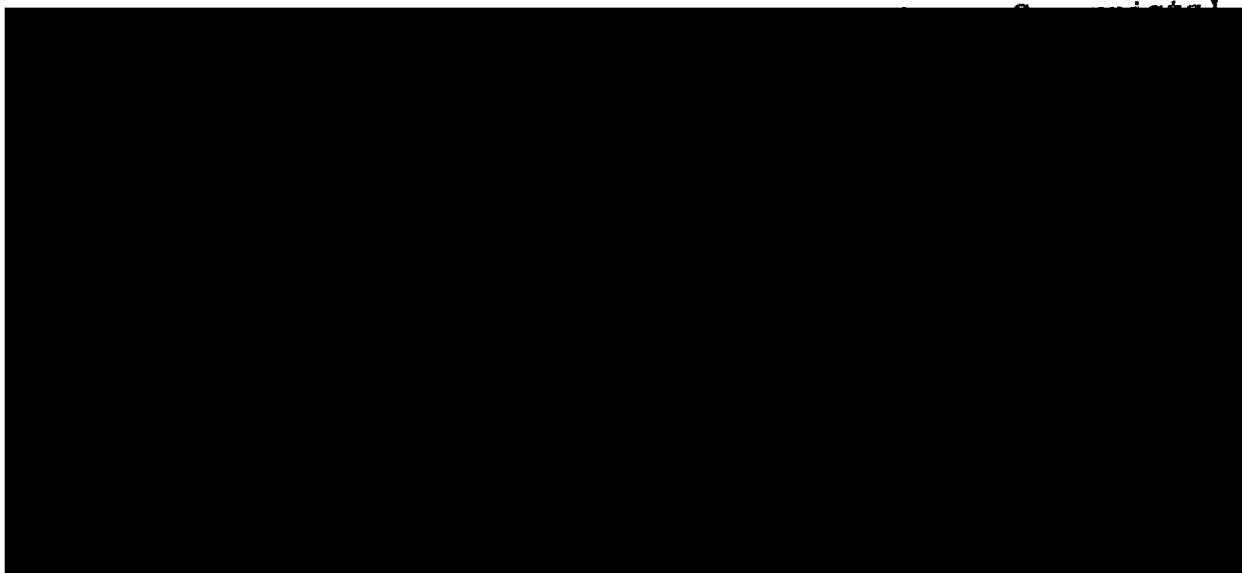
The leadership resorted to a limited liberalization to spur individual incentives in an attempt to rescue the stagnant economy. Peasants were permitted to work small plots of ground for their own use and even to sell any surplus on the so-called "free market." Some of the communal mess halls were closed and the onslaught against traditional family life was eased. There has been a slight improvement in the economic situation since the autumn of 1962 and this has apparently encouraged the Communist leaders to believe that agricultural recovery has reached the point where tougher policies can again be put into effect. Last fall the Central Committee of the CCP denounced "spontaneous tendencies toward capitalism" and other related sins among the peasantry. The main aim of the attack was to dispel the notion among the cadres as well as among the peasantry that concessions to private initiative such as the family plots and the free markets were responsible for the slight economic improvement in 1962. Through early spring of this year, editorials and articles in the Chinese press reflected a vigorous campaign to keep such "anti-socialist" opinions from taking root.

The Communists are so encouraged by their minor success that they are apparently convinced they can abandon the short-lived pragmatic course that was forced on them by adverse weather conditions and their own ill-advised policies. Once again they will try to solve their production problems by doctrinaire ideological exhortations and attempt to force their revolution to its textbook conclusion by re-educating the peasantry to stoically accept communal existence and to work harder for smaller rewards. But optimism does not reign alone; reports have appeared that measures will be taken to prevent the massive exodus which took place to Hong Kong last summer on the heels of rumors that restrictive measures would again be invoked in the commune.

The depth of the crisis brought on by the food-supply failure is documented in many places, including the restructuring of China's foreign trade in recent years. Chinese exports declined by one third between 1959 and 1961, largely due to inability to maintain agricultural exports at previous levels. The drastic change is also evident on the import side of the ledger, where foodstuffs constituted less than one percent of the total in 1959 and almost 40 percent in 1961.

Foreign-trade statistics confirm not only the huge scope of China's failure to provide adequate food supplies for her own people, they also demonstrate China's willingness to sacrifice the vital interests of the Chinese people in the regime's struggle for status within the world Communist movement. At the very time that Chinese peasants were on near-starvation diets, Chinese leaders sent over 100,000 tons of grain to Albania and even shipped 100,000 tons of Burmese rice to Cuba in spite of the fact that the Chinese people were far worse off than the people of either Albania or Cuba. In this same period of extreme hardship for the Chinese masses, the Chinese Communist rulers committed large amounts of money, resources and effort to an advanced weapons program in their ambition to achieve overnight success in their struggle for status among the world's great powers.

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661 EE,WE,WH. Latin American Problem: Military or Constitutional
 25X1C10b Government?

BACKGROUND: National elections are scheduled for Peru on 9 June to restore constitutional civilian government. They probably will be held as scheduled but it is problematical that they will be honored by the military forces. The issues are being dramatized by an attempt to declare the election laws unconstitutional and other events which underscore the continuing Latin American struggle to maintain constitutional government in the face of military intervention.

PERU

Peru has been ruled by a small hereditary group of large landowners, financiers and businessmen while the largest part of the population lives in miserable poverty that is generally extreme. More than 76% of the total cultivated land is owned by 1.6% of the landowners; more than 80% of the population is composed of indigenous Indians or mestizos most of whom practice subsistence agriculture in isolated villages. Illiteracy is over 55%. The great gulf between the few "haves" and the many "have nots" stresses the potential for explosive social revolution.

"In Peru there are only two forces that can overthrow a government," the London Economist observed in 1953, "the army and organized labor; and the army is not going to encourage the growth of a potential rival." Peru's growth has been hampered by the factors noted above which, in turn, have contributed to political unrest. A constant factor has been the military's enmity toward APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana), the major political organization -- enmity which led to military intervention to annul the results of the 1962 free election and to establish a military junta which now rules Peru.

APRA. The APRA was established in 1924 as a left-wing party with revolutionary tendencies. Its founder and current leader, Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, apparently won the presidential elections in 1931 but was denied the victory by manipulations of the incumbent government. The APRA repeatedly has been suppressed by the military with consequent violence and bloodshed by both sides which still embitters Peruvian politics. APRA was forced to operate underground most of the time until 1956 when its last minute support of Manuel Prado elected him president and he repealed the ban on the APRA and granted political amnesty.

APRA has undergone evolutionary changes from a radical revolutionary party to an anti-Communist, generally pro-US, group seeking to achieve its goals

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by political means. (In fact, its developing moderation has caused younger party militants to form a pro-Castro rebel splinter group.) It has gained considerable support in organized labor and in intellectual circles as well as among the predominant Indian-mestizo population and it has Peru's only effective precinct-level political organization.

APRA hoped that its cooperation with President Prado would help insure the constitutional turn over of the government in the 1962 elections. However, a prophetic warning was sounded in a pre-election announcement by the ministers of the armed forces that they would nullify the June elections if they felt fraud had been committed. Haya de la Torre won 32.9% of the votes, a few points more than his two principal rivals. But the constitution requires that the winner must obtain at least a third of the votes cast; if no one does, the winner is determined by the newly elected Congress. Since an APRA-dominated coalition won a majority of the congressional seats, the Congress was expected to declare Haya de la Torre president.

Military. Before the votes were counted in the 1962 elections, the armed forces announced that on the basis of their nationwide survey, Fernando Belaunde Terry was the leading candidate, not the APRA standard bearer. But the preliminary official count showed the latter in the lead. The military charged fraud and declared the results were "untruthful and a deformation of the popular will." But the National Election Board maintained the "electoral processes valid in all departments." The military seized control of the government, established a military junta, declared the elections void and announced new elections to be held in June 1963.

As the supra-constitutional guardians of the state and arbiters of the political process, the armed forces constitute a political factor of importance equal to the political parties themselves. Their principal political motivation continues to be block the APRA from power. The ruling junta has initiated economic and social planning which could lead to reforms which could eventually satisfy the bulk of the population but it also raised military salaries across the board so that military and police costs now take over 30% of the national budget.

Current Situation. The junta has confirmed an earlier promise to hold general elections on 9 June and says it will respect the results by turning over authority to the winner on 28 July. There is little support within the armed forces and even less from the civilian population for continuation of military rule. The junta's dilemma is how to live up to its election promises and at the same time keep the APRA from power. Coalitions among the several parties do not show any promise of blocking the APRA although the closeness of the 1962 balloting and the fact the same three principal candidates are running for president again suggests that even a slight shift in the voting could change the results. Since the military are conducting the June elections, they can hardly resort to charges of fraud as

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justification to deny an APRA victory, but this does not rule out more direct and permanent military intervention should the results prove unsatisfactory to the armed forces.

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662 WE,d. Intellectual Anti-Americanism

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BACKGROUND: Aside from obvious Communist propaganda, many articles, books, radio talks, and lectures are produced abroad which present a distorted and hostile view of the United States. This phenomenon is not a new one, as it goes back at least to Charles Dickens' MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT. But it now has political importance for us, since it tends to influence governments or potential governments in Western Europe and many non-European countries, and therefore hinders our efforts to erect barriers against Soviet and Chicom aggression. It is not just a matter of our "other-directed desire to be liked."

Importance of the Intellectuals

Despite the alleged anti-proletarian, "imperialist" and "reactionary" character of the US political and socio-economic system, anti-Americanism is probably insignificant among the "working masses." Working-class people in many countries are likely to have relatives in the US, and would be only too glad to enjoy the material advantages of American life. If they vote Communist, it is often because this seems the only way to force reforms upon their society. Anti-Americanism is more common, however, among the intellectuals. In the European educational pattern (which is often the model in Asian, African, and Latin American countries), only a few of the best students go to the lycées, gymnasia, "public schools," and universities, and thereby become eligible for professional careers, including senior careers in the civil service. Those who have had this education are those who make most of the political decisions and are in the best position to influence public opinion. These students become convinced at a very early age that intellectual qualities are all-important, and that deference is owed to those who have these qualities; indeed, they must have some such belief to carry them through the grueling examinations they must pass and to reconcile them to their often mediocre living conditions. Their studies usually inspire a belief in the importance of their own literary, artistic, and philosophical tradition, and a certain contempt for practical studies. Products of this system, especially those who become writers and public speakers, have had a thorough training in the arts of rhetoric and polemic, including the art of reaching a convincing conclusion when there is insufficient time for thorough study and understanding.

What the intellectuals forget, distort, or ignore.

Anti-American intellectuals may (like Malcolm Muggeridge, Simone de Beauvoir, Bertrand Russell, and Krishna Menon) belong to the left, or they may (like Evelyn Waugh, Ernst von Salomon, and General de Gaulle) belong to the right, but either way they

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are prone to regard Americans as barbarians who spread a low-grade mass culture of Coca Cola, Hollywood movies, fin-tailed automobiles, and hand-painted girly neckties. They ignore or forget such things as the influence of Edgar Allen Poe on modern French literature (some do express perverse admiration for Dashiell Hammett and Mickey Spillane), the impact of Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright on modern architecture, or the fact that the American Charles Sanders Peirce anticipated many of the ideas of Ludwig Wittgenstein and the English linguistic philosophers. They overlook the current quality of the Boston Symphony, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and San Francisco Orchestras and of the Metropolitan Opera; the status of writers like J.D. Salinger, John Updike, and James Jones; the critical stature of Edmund Wilson; the rise of New York as a world center of modern art; and the burgeoning of culture throughout the country: experimental theater, amateur symphony orchestras, expansion of public library systems, widespread distribution of records and paper-bound books. (More material achievements, such as the Salk polio vaccine, the Mariner II space mission to Venus, or the construction of the longest suspension span in the world across the New York Narrows, make little impression on this group.) While their education is valuable in many ways and probably superior in some, it does not in itself teach them to adjust, to compromise, or to understand other peoples' viewpoints; these defects are probably the consequence of the merits.

Aside from casting aspersions on American intellectual achievement, intellectual critics are prone to describe Americans as sterile, inhuman, racist, and militaristic. Evelyn Waugh satirizes and exaggerates the euphemisms of American morticians; Simone de Beauvoir's novel, *THE MANDARINS*, shows prosperous Americans as indifferent to the starvation of Central American Indians and makes her American lover behave with cruel rudeness to a small boy; a Vicky cartoon in the *New Statesman* shows a host of hard-faced, bespectacled Americans pushing President Kennedy into war; Malcolm Muggeridge suggests that Americans have entered their Kipling era; and Bertrand Russell believes that American diplomacy is an adaptation of the drag-strip game of "chicken." Occasionally, visiting writers discover that Americans can be gentle, kind, and even alive, but this discovery seems to come as a great surprise. Unfortunately, few intellectuals visit America, and most of those who do form their impressions from New York City or the Los Angeles suburbs and exurbs. There is little appreciation of the absence of class hatred, the relaxed atmosphere of most American communities, the progress in solving difficult racial problems, and the fact that American defense policies have all been responses to aggressive Communist actions. These policies have been calculated to contain communism peacefully, and not to destroy it by nuclear warfare; in the 1940's, the United States declined to use its nuclear monopoly against the Soviet Union. Uncle Shylock's grant of 100 billion dollars in aid since World War II is also a point which is conveniently forgotten.

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There are defects.

We should realize, of course, that some American activities and traits have fed the fires of anti-Americanism. Racist views are still held -- and discrimination is being practiced -- by many Americans. Although a policy of prior nuclear attack has never been adopted or even seriously considered, occasionally American officers and others have privately advocated such a policy. Not unnaturally, few Americans have the same appreciation of local foreign cultures that the local intellectuals have. Our educational system has had the job not only of education, but also of making a community out of varied nationalities, and many Americans would now agree with Admiral Rickover that American schools have often failed to maintain high intellectual standards. Indeed, every foreign criticism of the United States has probably also been stated by a native American. All of us have some criticisms to make, and we should not react as the Soviets do when others criticize. But we do have an interest in countering blanket criticism which leads influential groups into herd-like opposition to American policies.

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BACKGROUND: In the Italian general elections of 28 April, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) polled over one quarter (25.6 per cent) of the popular vote -- an increase of more than a million votes -- and now holds 166 seats in the Chamber of Deputies (as opposed to 140 previously), and 85 seats in the Senate (59 previously). The large Communist vote is the result of a number of sociological and organizational factors rather than purely political or ideological ones and does not mean that the Italian electorate has succumbed to the blandishments of Comrade Togliatti's more moderate and beguiling tactics. The disproportionately large Communist vote in Italy has traditionally been -- in part at least -- a protest against inequality, bureaucracy and discrimination. Such is still the case, despite several years of industrial progress and 14 months of cautious center-left government which witnessed the start (but only the start) of various basic reforms. /See BWPG #106 Item 609 "Sino-Soviet Confrontations at Party Congresses in East Europe and Italy"; #114 Item 650 "The Italian Central Confederation of Labor (CGIL)".7

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ITALIAN PARTY APPLIES CREATIVE MARXISM

by Evzen S. Rosian

When the Central Committee of our Communist Party sent the Italian Communist Party Central Committee a telegram congratulating it on its magnificent victory in the elections, it did so in the awareness that it was thus greeting a brotherly party in which its voters had voiced their justified confidence, in the first place and primarily because it followed without any reservations and hesitation the road of the 20th CPSU Congress.

This conclusion from the victory of the Italian comrades is most natural. It is well known that the Italian Communist Party was the only party among the communist parties in developed capitalist countries which most consistently applied the conclusions of the 20th CPSU Congress to its own circumstances. The Italian communists were able quickly to eliminate the dogmatic layers left by the personality cult. They particularly adopted that part of the new aspects, brought by the 20th CPSU Congress, which dealt with the possibilities of the socialist revolution's peaceful progress under conditions of a developed state-monopolist capitalism, and with the possibilities of a successful struggle for peace, because, in an atomic age, war -- although it does not cease to be a threat -- is no longer fatally unavoidable. This is also so because it can endanger the fate of all or the majority of mankind.

These two new, or rather, revived theses of creative Marxism-Leninism were grasped by the Italian communists. With great enthusiasm they started to fight for their implementation on the soil of present-day Italy. This brought them rich fruit.

The new policy of the Italian Communist Party made the party even more attractive to the broad masses of the population and primarily to the workers class. The dogmatic preaching of theories and slogans during the personality cult period -- apart from the fact that they were unrealistic and often untrue -- could not enlist such a support of the masses as that which can be guided by communism, especially after the 20th congress.

Many dogmatic cranks prophesized, with almost a masochistic lust, the harm which would ensue from the new policy, which robbed the masses, for instance, of the nimbus of Stalin. They declared, especially with regard to the Italian Communist Party, that it was in a crisis and unable to recover from the post-Stalinist sobering up. It became clearly evident, however, that the sobering up from the dogmas and effects of the personality cult, even with regard to the Italian Communist Party, did not mean a sobering up from communism. It meant the strengthening of communism.

The Italian communists realized the importance of the campaign started by the 20th CPSU Congress because they saw in it a weapon with whose help it would be possible to attack even better the positions of the Italian and international imperialism. Not for a moment were they on the defensive. They did not have to explain with perplexity and a feeling of pain what the 20th congress actually meant and what Comrade Khrushchev really meant. They grasped that this was the time for a flying leap onto the road of further victories, onto the road where there would not be less obstacles, but more strength and more means to eliminate these obstacles.

The Italian communists proved the dogmatists guilty of a further error. The complete pauperization of the workers class, a bad economic situation, unemployment, and a crisis which allegedly establishes better conditions for the revolutionizing of the masses and for the political success of the communists are not necessary for the success of the workers class in capitalist countries. In Italy the situation of the workers class and of the farmers is far from rosy. However, the workers can gain not only in the material sense, but also politically from the position of the Italian workers class, for instance, in strike struggles.

They have better chances of success than during unemployment and economic crises. These are new factors which it is impossible not to notice and not to stress both in the Italian reality and in the situation in other capitalist countries.

However, the Italian Communist Party knew how to find a concrete approach to the intelligentsia. Side by side with the workers class and farmers stand the working intelligentsia, with its best representatives, artists, writers, sculptors, and people working in the film industry in its ranks. They consider the Italian Communist Party a guarantee of the possibility for full artistic development. Many of them put their great talents to the service of the party and, with their art, helped to achieve its victories.

Perhaps the greatest cause for the victory of the Italian comrades is due to their attitude toward questions of war and peace in general, and toward the question of NATO and American military bases in particular. Until recently the Italian Communist Party was the only one which consistently fought against a situation which could lead to the physical annihilation of the Italian people. It also remained the most consistent fighter in this cause after recently getting an ally on the question of war and peace in the person of Pope John XXIII and in his encyclical, "Peace on Earth." The Christian Democrats wanted to make political capital out of this great peace act of the Pope. They did not succeed only because the Italian voters realized that, in this question, it was not the communists who took over the Pope's viewpoint, but it was the Pope who took over the views of the communists. It was the viewpoint on coexistence and peace. In this respect the communists are better trusted also because they have a cleaner past, particularly since the 20th congress.